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SPEECH OF HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE ON
CLOSING THE PEACE CONGRESS, AUG. 19TH.

I believe this closes the ceremonies and the speeches of to-day. It is a painful office to draw this Congress to a close, and yet it is the great privilege of my life that I may say a few words to you on this occasion. With great pleasure we have welcomed to this Congress representatives from England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, from Australia, India, China and Africa. This Congress with these representatives surely denotes progress. The glory of this Congress is that it rests upon the great truth that ideas are supreme. Only a few words I am going to say, but if time were longer I should like to develop that idea. We must cleanse the human mind of a great deal of débris that has come down in it. We want to change the schools, the colleges, the whole system of instruction, that it may be no longer taught to boys and girls in their tender years that war is the glory of life. (Applause). The pride and pomp and circumstance of war are illustrated by these beautiful banners, which adorn this hall and which have a little flavor of human blood. They all need to be remounted upon that white back-ground that denotes purity and universal peace. I said the other day that to me it seemed as if the great Fair at the other end of the city was a declaration of independence in American art. These Congresses seem to me to be inspired by this great idea, the elevation, the uplifting of the masses of mankind. (Applause.) It would have perhaps been happier if the two, the Fair and the Congresses, could have been brought more closely into connection, and if these Congresses, probably over one hundred, representing all varieties of human interest, could have met in the middle of that wonderful collection of the works of art and human industry.

But at any rate the ideas which you have heard in this Congress illustrate the same wonderful development of the human race, which you go down there to see proved by what the hand of man has done. What a contrast is suggested by a story told me, years ago in Spain, which sent the discoverer to this country, in the little town of Algeciras just opposite Gibraltar. In an old tower stands a clock which has upon its face the means of showing the phases of the moon, as well, of course, as the hours of the day. Spain regarded the man who made that clock as a magician, and putting out his eyes confined him in a dungeon for the rest of his life. Men did not believe then as Dr. Holmes, I think it is, has taught us, that truth is such a sturdy boy that if he falls out of the window he is well again and out in a week, while error is such a puny sickling that if you scratch him with a pin he dies presently of gangrene. (Applause.)

This Congress rejoices to have met at last upon the soil of America, and I know I may, on behalf of all Americans who have shared in its work, express the hearty welcome which we have given to the Congress and to the grand ideas for which this movement stands.

If we Americans seek to make the influence of our country powerful among the nations, it is with no selfish or ulterior design. Nay we delight to know that the chief source of this great and growing influence springs from this fact of pre-eminent power, which may be stated with those noblest words ever spoken on this continent, by the greatest American of this century, Abraham Lincoln, that this country regards other countries "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

NO NATIONAL ANIMOSITIES.

This thought leads me to ask you to think for an instant of another privilege this nation enjoys, of inconceivable value to it, and also therefore to the world; freedom from national animosities, a rare and wonderful national heritage. Think of our relations with five great nations of the world, ancient friendship for the French, our earliest friends in the Revolutionary War; our proverbial friendship for Russia, growing perhaps out of mutual size but otherwise as unintelligible as it is yet well established; our sympathetic and unbroken friendship for Germany, our admiration for Italy and last our relations with England, the noble motherland of whom we are so proud, and towards whom the various collisions of a hundred years have left at last only the genuine and solid affection of a powerful offspring, conscious of the strength of full grown manhood and almost enjoying in memory the struggles of its youth.

What a glorious heritage Americans thus enjoy, for their own progress and the good of the world! Inconceivable folly and wickedness to exchange it for any miserable mess of pottage which war might offer!

Here lay in large measure the danger and the shame, let me say, the crime against our fair heritage of international respect and love growing out of our nation's treatment of Chile and Italy and China in these last few years.

Here lay the supreme danger of embittered dispute, with the possibility of the unspeakable calamity of a collision and so of protracted hate, if the more recent disputes with England, touching the Alabama, the fisheries and the seals, had not all been determined by arbitrations, which have cemented more closely the friendship of these great nations for each other.

The strength and glory of these solemn adjudications between the two nations are that first, they do justice, second, that the settlements are accepted as decisive, and third, I believe the time has come when a large part of the enlightened citizens of each land delight in the consciousness of not obtaining what the nation is not entitled to enjoy.

This peerless position of the United States of America in its freedom from any national hatred leads me to a subject which I believe no Peace Congress has ever dared approach — a matter wherein lies the chiefest obstacle to the peace of Europe and the world. I refer of course to the bitter hostility of France and Germany, resulting from the fierce wars of centuries and especially from the war of 1870 which left Germany in possession of two fair provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, torn from France defeated and embittered.

From that time the burden of armaments and the spirit of militarism have steadily increased in both Germany and France, drawing other nations of Europe into the same maelstrom of ruin, till the curse to all the nations involved and the crime against God and mankind have grown so flagrant that they cry aloud in the face of the whole civilized world.

Perhaps the worst of it all is that there is no end to the increase of the burden and the crime, by the present road. Some other way of exit must be found. The hatred and bitterness of France only bide their time for cruel war of revenge and hoped recovery. Germany is too brave to fear, but we may remind her that the long roll of time may find her at such disadvantage that France and

perhaps Russia may conquer some bloody gain, and so more tremendous war preparations again begin.

The peace of the world, especially of the great military nations of Europe, demand that Alsace and Lorraine be neutralized by universal consent and that then and thereafter France and Germany cease their hatred and preparations for war, with a neutral zone established between their boundaries, which both nations will in good faith agree to respect.

Some such consummation can alone put an end to the war spirit and war preparation of Europe. Will not every friend of peace among men strive to promote such peaceful issue to the present war furor in Germany and France?

Listen to a few words from a staunch friend of Peace in the English House of Commons, Hon. James Stansfeld: "The condition of Europe, with its armed States, is becoming absolutely intolerable. But a light is being forced from behind the clouds; a perfect revolution in the idea of war is being developed. The question is this: Is the future to be law or war? Are belligerents or neutrals to make the law of the future? Is war the natural state of nations? Or is not rather the condition of Peace the natural state? Is there to be constant international anarchy or shall we organize the nations into a civilized society of nations? An organization is wanted capable of creating and enforcing international law."

No wonder then that the plan of arbitration of the Pan-American Congress opens with the solemn declaration that "War is the most cruel, the most fruitless and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences."

This is the conviction which has rested deep in the conscience and the intelligence of the American people in these recent years. The United States have taken vigorous action towards the creation, first, of special treaties of arbitration, then of a system of arbitration, and the air is now vibrating with the thought of a High Court of Arbitration to produce peace among all nations who are parties to its creation. A resolution looking to this result has been introduced into the Senate of the United States and a committee created by this Congress will be created to urge its consideration and acceptance by the world.

The action of this Congress on Thursday in offering to your consideration a scheme for a High Court of Arbitration will promote this most desirable result.

Because truth is mighty and the cause of justice must prevail under the providence of God, even so we may feel sure that this great cause in which we have rejoiced to labor, to hasten the day when a High Court may keep the peace among nations, will surely prevail and causes of war grow fewer and the brotherhood of man be a felt power in the world.

"In fact the possibility of any one nation standing out against the principle of peaceful arbitrament after a vast majority of governments have coalesced in such grand elevation of the race, is hardly a supposable case. We believe that no monarch would dare to brave the weight of such a sentiment of amelioration for human suffering, or even to seem to oppose the impetus which such absence of the possibility of wars would bring to mankind, especially so after a majority of the most enlightened governments of the world had agreed that arbitration should hereafter rule, and that the nations should study war no more." — *Microcosm.*

A MILITARY MAN'S VIEW OF ARBITRATION.

BY GEN. CHARLES H. HOWARD.

Paper read before the Chicago Peace Congress.

I would not have any one imagine that I think for a moment that those who are sitting before me need any additional arguments on this great question. I cannot feel that I am presenting even a military man's point of view as any instruction to you who hear me. But there are two points that I have selected, which perhaps when treated from a military point of view may furnish new force to the old argument for those whom we need to bring with us in this great cause. I have noted that arbitration has often settled more than one point. It seems that in the Geneva arbitration five points that might, under some circumstances, have been the cause of war, were settled. It seems to me that we cannot magnify the importance of this triumph which is before us at this moment, and I hardly like to turn your thought one moment from the special subject that is to be presented to us to-day, namely, what can we do to bring about the establishment of a permanent tribunal to settle these great questions. On my way here this morning I had illustrated, in a little conversation with a neighbor, one way in which perhaps some military points of view may aid us in bringing the public sentiment of the country to us. We were talking of the improvements of the implements of war. This gentleman suggested to me that it was not impossible at all that we might come to see two armies both utterly destroyed by dynamite. Just a moment's thought of that I think illustrates well the absurdity, the utter absurdity of appealing to such a tribunal as that in this period of reason. But in order that I might keep myself within the bounds of the short time allotted I have noted down on these two points what I have to say.

The subject assigned me — "Reasons for Arbitration from the Point of View of a Military Man" — admits of a much more elaborate treatment than the time for a single paper would permit. I have therefore selected two special fields of observation; one, the modern appliances of warfare with their increased and constantly increasing facilities for killing; the other, the history of wars and battles as they are written for popular use. My thought is that a military man or a man whose experience has made him a participator and personal observer of battles will take a different view of these two fields of observation from that taken by most other persons and hence may derive not perhaps new reasons for arbitration but add to the old and well established reasons new force.

It has been argued that the perfection of the implements of modern warfare, and especially their enormous destructive power would diminish war. The history of nations to the present does not prove this. The fact that science has been so applied that every battle fought must mean a holocaust of human sacrifice does not prevent rulers from declaring war, nor does it prevent the people through their legislative bodies from voting the funds to create and equip armies. It does not even prevent volunteer enlistments and the filling up of depleted ranks after war has actually begun. But on the other hand the vast attainments of applied science in the arts of warfare, if fully comprehended with their possible results, supply a ground for a new and convincing appeal to all rational beings to take steps to prevent wars. Mere statistics, however cumulative and cogent in their application, do not always convince, much less stir to action. An exhibi-